Eisenhower, the Silent Symbol—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

January 19, 1952

Tax Scandals New and Old

Internal Confusion in Internal Revenue

BY NORMAN REDLICH

Granddaddy of the Tax Scandals

BY HARRY BARNARD

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Korea and Peace

Steps Toward Unification

BY ARTHUR L. GREY, JR.

*

Headache Powders: Use Your Head

BY LEONARD ENGEL

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On helping young people to think for themselves

THE propagandists of orthodoxy, both of the Right and of the Left, have always made special efforts to capture and to curb the minds of students. Those of us who care about freedom must do as much to keep *our* viewpoint before the new generation. These considerations recently led a liberal-minded Chicago businessman to take action.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE OBVIOUS RESULTS OF THE CHURCHILL visit have been duly tabulated and added up: American steel for British aluminum; agreements as to Britain's relationship with the future European army; American pledge that bomber bases in England will not be used without the consent of both governments; a few others which together imply more cooperation and less competition in various parts of the world. But the less obvious results, some not yet revealed and perhaps still only half-formulated, are certainly more important and considerably more disturbing. The talks in Washington between Acheson and Eden and the later secret discussion among General Juin of France, General Sir William Slim of Britain, and General Bradley indicate clearly enough that new commitments are in the making in regard to Asia. For one thing it is now accepted that Japan will be pushed by the United States into diplomatic relations and a separate peace treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. Mr. Eden's protest against this action, which was initiated in violation of American promises during Mr. Dulles's recent Tokyo visit, failed to move Mr. Acheson. As James Reston remarked in the New York *Times* last Sunday, "In the last analysis the British felt there was very little they could do. They could not break with the United States on the issue. They needed the financial and military help of the United States, so their tendency . . . was to go along, even though they felt the situation was fundamentally wrong." What, if any, economic or military *quid pro quo* Eden received is not known. But the British undoubtedly pressed their claim for greater aid in Burma and Malaya.

*

REGARDING INDO-CHINA THE PROSPECT IS still more obscure. The Churchill-Truman warning to Peking that they were watching the military situation in Southeast Asia and would not tolerate Communist expansion here, a warning more strongly phrased by Eden in his Columbia University speech, may imply an agreement to intervene with arms if the Chinese send troops into Indo-China. It has been interpreted this way by several well-informed Washington correspondents. No such agreement, however, has been publicly announced, although the United States has apparently promised General Juin naval and air support in case of a Chinese invasion, and this, we all remember, was the way the whole thing started in Korea. Without any question the Asian aspects of the recent Washington talks provide hints of most serious developments ahead, and it is essential that all the facts be revealed without delay so that they may be examined by the public and by Congress before bigger and worse wars are launched.

*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S WITHDRAWAL OF THE nomination of General Mark W. Clark as ambassador to the Vatican State—ostensibly at the request of General Clark—may satisfy those who disapproved of sending a military man on such a mission, but it will not quiet the storm of protest provoked by the original announcement. As usual, Mr. Truman appears to have been moved by political self-interest. The day before the nomination of General Clark was withdrawn, Senator Tom Connally voiced strong objections to it and implied that it could not be confirmed. In addition to this important opposition, a storm of protest has been beating on the White House and on Congress. "Members of the Senate," reported the *Wall Street Journal* of January 8, "who must act on the nomination, say they are still receiving a large volume of mail on the Vatican issue—and nearly all of it against the President's proposal. One Southern Democrat says that out of a 'trunkful of letters' . . . only three have favored a United States ambassador to the Papal State. Senators from other sections report overwhelming opposition to the nomination. 'And the Protestants,' says one law-maker, 'are demanding that it come to a vote so that they can see exactly how every Senator stands on the issue.' " For the time being the President has prevented a record vote, but groups opposed to the appointment of an ambassador should keep the pressure on until Mr. Truman publicly disavows the project and formally reaffirms the constitutional separation of church and state.

*

ATTORNEY GENERAL J. HOWARD McGRATH was teetering on the end of a plank around the turn of the year; today he is back in the President's good graces. Not only has his continuance in office been confirmed,

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but he has been assigned the task of cleaning up the scandals in which some at least of his own subordinates are involved. What happened to bring about this happy ending—for McGrath? Washington reporters have little doubt Mr. Truman had planned to jettison him. According to David Lawrence, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune,* the President actually approached four men in his search for a new Attorney General. Three of them refused, but the fourth, Justin Miller, executive head of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters and former Associate Justice of the United States Court of Appeals, accepted after some hesitation. On January 3 Mr. Truman missed a chance to deny widespread reports of McGrath's departure, and the announcement of his successor appeared imminent. Next day, however, McGrath emerged from a Cabinet meeting wreathed in smiles and told reporters that no change in his status was contemplated. According to Robert S. Allen, he was saved by the intervention of three friends—Senator Theodore Green, his political godfather; Cardinal Spellman, who telephoned a plea from Tokyo; and Matt Connelly, Presidential secretary, who concerns himself particularly with affairs of the Roman Catholic church and is said to be close to Franco's active Washington lobby. This story fits in with another Washington rumor—that McGrath has been allowed to stay at the Department of Justice until he can resign with dignity to take another post, that of ambassador to Spain, which is likely to become vacant shortly as the result of the illness of the present incumbent, Stanton Griffis.

*

WITH THIS ISSUE WE BEGIN A SYMPOSIUM ON the long-range problems of peace in Korea. In view of the continued deadlock in the cease-fire negotiations, such a discussion may seem premature, perhaps over-optimistic. But we are convinced that an armistice will eventually emerge from the talks and that it will bring with it a flock of problems more important and far more difficult to resolve than those now being discussed at Panmunjom. The authors contributing to the symposium have considered these problems with detachment and realism and where possible have suggested workable solutions. This week Arthur L. Grey, Jr., takes up the question of Korean unification. In subsequent issues Lawrence K. Rosinger will discuss the effect on Korea of the Japanese treaty and the Pacific Pact; Walter Sullivan, New York *Times* correspondent in Korea in 1950, will describe the task of rebuilding and relief that will face the United Nations once the fighting ends; Yong-jeung Kim, director of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, will try to anticipate the internal political difficulties that peace will bring in Korea; finally Owen Lattimore and W. McMahon Ball will comment on certain broad aspects of a Korean settlement.

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WITH MUCH STAR-SPANGLED FANFARE THE "Alert America" exhibit opened in Washington on January 7, sponsored jointly by the federal Civil Defense Administration and an organization known as Valley Forge Foundation. Actually the Valley Forge Foundation is an offspring of the Freedoms Foundation which was set up some years ago for the apparently harmless purpose of awarding cash prizes annually to "Americans who speak up for freedom." Its winners have included such freedom lovers as Westbrook Pegler and George Sokolsky, a fact which in 1949 led the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers (A. F. of L.) to hand back to the Freedoms Foundation an award of $600 and a gold medal. The Alert America exhibit represents what is referred to in Pentagon circles as a "new concept"—the partnership of civil defense and the military. It will visit the forty-eight states and over a hundred cities. School children in particular will be encouraged to view the exhibit, which according to the advance billing "is so arranged that the effect is cumulative on the visitor. As he passes through it he sees the destruction of a city, of crops . . . of life." Whether the new concept of linking military and civilians is a good one is certainly open to question. But in any case it does not excuse collaboration between the government and an outfit like Freedoms Foundation and its dubious subsidiaries.

Eisenhower: Silent Symbol

ANY uncertainty about General Eisenhower's political affiliations and political ambitions has been removed by his announcement that he would accept the Republican nomination. In the phrase of Joseph Alsop, it can now be said that the General is "an avowed, available, and firmly Republican" candidate for the Presidency.

With Senator Taft virtually unopposed, the entry of General Eisenhower in the Republican race might normally be taken as a healthy political development. But the General has made his announcement under circumstances that give his candidacy an abnormal significance. We are disturbed by the manner of the announcement and its reception, by the view that the General apparently takes of his own position, by the extreme emphasis being placed on "leadership," and by the threat of increased military influence in government.

Consider, first, the strange situation in which the General's candidacy puts the average voter. Eisenhower is in Europe and if his statement is taken at face value will remain there until after the Republican convention. He does not intend to campaign. He does not intend to discuss the issues. He will enter no debates and appear on no platforms. There is a calculated aloofness about this that cuts across the grain of the American political tradition. As Max Lerner put it, the General's duty to NATO today is greater than his duty to campaign for the nomination, but his duty to run for President in July will be greater than his duty to NATO. It looks as though the General wanted the Presidency handed him on a platter. This is certainly not flattering to the political ego of the average American voter, and it is unfair to the General's Republican rivals. Even a talented debater like Senator Taft will find it difficult to argue with a Silent Symbol on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Presumably Senator Taft and General Eisenhower differ on foreign policy; on domestic questions we are inclined to accept Mark Sullivan's assurance that the General is "staunchly Republican." But if foreign policy is the key issue in 1952, how can conflicting tendencies within the Republican Party be clarified and appraised if only Saltonstall can speak to Lodge and only Lodge can speak to God? The necessity for debate is all the greater because the differences between Taft and Eisenhower on foreign policy are perhaps more a matter of timing and geography than of substance. Both are proponents of military containment, differing principally as to the scale and speed of rearmament, the value of the United Nations, and the respective importance of Europe and the Far East. Behind Eisenhower are the so-called "Morgan interests" that supported Willkie in 1940 and Dewey in 1948, with their familiar emphasis on the Atlantic and Europe; behind Taft are the corn-fed industrialists and financiers of the Middle West, who are inclined toward an isolationist position but who nevertheless favor a strong policy in Asia along the lines of the MacArthur recommendations. These divergent interests and emphases should be thoroughly explored; all too little is known about them.

Despite the difficulties of debating with a Silent Symbol, Senator Taft is a determined man and can be counted on to challenge Eisenhower to take off his uniform and talk to the people. But assuming Taft can force a debate, how much of a debate will it be? Under other circumstances, it might be lively and enlightening; today it can hardly be either. The manner in which the Eisenhower announcement was received implies a strong determination to rule out any significant discussion of foreign policy. The swift indorsement of Eisenhower by newspapers like the New York *Times* and the Chicago *Sun-Times* indicates how easily a frenzy of enthusiasm may be whipped up under cover of which the only issue will be: are you for or against Eisenhower? That liberals like Senator Douglas and Senator Morse should be for Eisenhower along with diehard Dixiecrats such as Alabama's Tom Abernethy is a measure of the neurotic need for a "leader" and a hint that the next President may be chosen by "acclamation" rather than on the merits of his candidacy as tested in a political fight.

The danger in this attempt to avoid a campaign on the issues is increased by the very qualities that have made

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General Eisenhower a popular figure. If he had the mannerisms and the arrogance of the stereotyped "man on horseback," in short if he were more like MacArthur, one could safely assume that the American people would recognize the type and act accordingly. But "Ike" is from Kansas; he looks and talks and acts like a civilian in uniform. The General should be aware that his supporters are exploiting these qualities. Eisenhower is the ideal candidate, writes Walter Lippmann, because he is "enormously stronger with the voters than is the Republican Party." In other words, Eisenhower's personal popularity can be used to bring to power a minority party that has been discredited by past performance and is still distrusted by the great mass of voters. Under the circumstances General Eisenhower's acquiescence in the type of campaign that is shaping up—for which, indeed, he is himself largely responsible—betrays a fundamental failure to understand the implications of democratic leadership.

The possibility that political debate will be foreclosed is further increased by the probable impact of Eisenhower's nomination on the two-party system. Though the Republicans' candidate, Eisenhower might well be the Democrats' as well, in fact if not in name. There is already, as in 1948, a strong pro-Eisenhower sentiment among many so-called "liberal" Democrats, and it can be argued that his nomination would prevent a Dixiecrat secession. The greater danger, of course, is that Eisenhower will be the Democratic candidate not formally but by default. If President Truman is nominated, there can be no debate on foreign policy. Nor can there be any real debate if the Democrats choose someone the President approves. They might as well nominate Republican Eisenhower as Democrat Vinson.

There is a final circumstance about the General's candidacy that we find even more disturbing than those mentioned. Eisenhower is not only a general: he belongs to the military. He was trained at West Point, and his entire career, with the exception of the brief interlude at Columbia University, has been spent in uniform. He was a tactful commander of a coalition of armed forces, but he has had no experience with political parties or political administration. The Eisenhower jacket may be less brassy than the gold braid on MacArthur's cap, but it is still part of a uniform. Today the influence of the military in government is perhaps greater than it was at the end of World War II. General Eisenhower may not want to represent the Pentagon in the White House, but how can he help it? The circumstances of the times—the danger of war, the war economy, the vast and growing network of alliances—tend to make any President, even a civilian and a democrat, a tool of the military. If there was reason, as we believed and stated, to be concerned about the appointment of General Marshall as Secretary of State, there is much more reason to be concerned about the presence today of a regular army officer in the White House.

In a later issue we intend to examine what is known about General Eisenhower's position on foreign and domestic issues and discuss means by which the Democrats could organize to meet the threat which his candidacy presents to the two-party system. But the political season is already well advanced, and action should be taken now. In our view every effort should be made to prevent a stampede for Eisenhower. The General should be asked to resign his command immediately, return home, and start answering questions. Independent candidates should be entered in both major parties, for as many offices as possible; independent delegations should be entered in the Democratic primaries in as many states as possible; and liberals and progressives should start to caucus immediately on other ways of assuring voters a real choice in this most crucial election.

Vishinsky's Offer

Paris, January 12

TODAY'S announcement by Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky that Russia was now prepared to accept as part of an atomic-control plan inspection on a "continuing basis" not only represented an important concession; coupled with his retreat from Russia's previous position that atomic weapons must be prohibited first with international control to follow, it has presented the Western Allies with a genuine challenge. How they will meet it is not yet certain, but the first reaction of the Americans was to look for booby-traps. They professed to have spotted two questionable items: one, Vishinsky's insistence that the control agency should "not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of states"; the other, the possibility that his proposal was intended to block the new Disarmament Commission, approved yesterday over strong Soviet opposition.

But it is clear that Vishinsky's initiative will increase the lead Russia has taken in the peace-propaganda bout going on in the Assembly. In every committee the Soviet delegates have been on the offensive, with the obvious purpose of proving that, while some great powers look for solutions in other quarters, Russia at least takes the United Nations seriously.

Until Vishinsky's intervention today, the outstanding Soviet proposal was that calling for a special meeting of the Security Council, to be attended by the Foreign Ministers, which should try to arrange a Korean truce and also to reduce tension and establish friendly relations among the powers. The Korean proposal was doomed from the start; but the idea of periodic meetings of the Security Council appealed to so many delegations that after strong initial objections from the Americans it was ultimately amended to eliminate refer-

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ences to Korea as well as the Soviet demand for a meeting "without delay," and was then adopted as modified. The result was, in effect, a Soviet defeat, for no one here believes the Americans will permit an early meeting of Foreign Ministers even for general discussion of differences. But the fact that Vishinsky voted for the much-amended resolution is taken as additional evidence that Russia intends to back any move, however slight, toward big-power talks on peace. And if a cease-fire should be arranged at Panmunjom before the end of the Assembly, the Soviet demand for a Security Council session would have overwhelming support.

With the passage of time the contention that everything proposed by the Russians must be rejected automatically and entirely is losing force. Delegates are very conscious that two years ago Secretary General Trygve Lie recommended similar special meetings of the Security Council. They are conscious, too, that the concessions offered by Vishinsky on disarmament, if they mean what they appear to mean, greatly reduce the gap between the two rival plans and eliminate the most serious points of difference. It will not be enough, in the view of most people, merely to throw doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet offer; it should be examined on its merits with an evident will to agree if agreement is possible. Otherwise the setting up of the Disarmament Commission to work toward the "regulation, limitation, and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments" will be proved an empty gesture. J. A. DEL V.

Same Pill, Less Sugar

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN HIS report to Congress on the state of the nation, the President prescribed the same mixture as before except that the bitter defense pill was to be larger and its sugar-coating thinner. He recognized that arms were not the only protection against aggression but emphasized the building of military might and gave a minor role to the social and moral means of fortifying democracy—reform at home, economic development abroad. There was little evidence in the speech that the Administration had given heed to the authoritative and varied voices that have recently warned against putting too many of our eggs too fast into military baskets lest we weaken our economy and, even more, the economies of our allies.

I found the message depressing, but I was not at all surprised that the Stock Exchange regarded it as bullish and turned strong the following morning. Quite correctly, the professional traders saw inflationary implications in the President's words and therefore bought equities which, if not a perfect hedge against depreciating dollars, are better than no hedge at all. In the first place, while details of spending were withheld for later messages, Mr. Truman appeared anxious to dispose of rumors that he would hold down military appropriations. "Our first job," he said, "is to move ahead full steam on the defense program. . . . This year I shall recommend some increase in the size of the active force we are building, with particular emphasis on air power. This means we shall have to continue large-scale production of planes and other equipment for a longer period of time then we had originally planned." It would appear that the Pentagon advocates of a 140-group air force have triumphed.

While the military budget seems certain to grow larger, there may be some trimming of civilian expenditure. Mr. Truman repeated the aims of the Fair Deal—conservation, improved social security, better housing, health and education, civil rights—but he was less specific than in earlier years and he conceded that "we cannot do all we want to do in times like these." Moreover, defense priorities for materials seem likely to reduce the volume of social investment.

Only in two instances did the President urge definite Congressional action which would increase non-defense expenditure. Some effort, he said, should be made to ease the pressure of living costs on those dependent on fixed payments. Old-age and survivors' insurance benefits should be raised at least $5 a month above the present average of $42; similar increases should be made in veterans' benefits and public-assistance grants. These proposals will no doubt be attacked by advocates of blind economy, but they represent elementary justice for the most helpless victims of inflation.

The President's second request to Congress was of more dubious nature. I cannot think that, at a time when producers of food and fibers are enjoying booming prosperity, strengthening the farm price-support system is imperative. At least any further underpinning of price floors for agriculture ought to be accompanied by the construction of solid ceilings over food prices. However, while Mr. Truman pointed out that the stabilization law was "shot full of holes" and asked for enactment of a stronger measure, he failed to mention the gap opened at the behest of the farm bloc.

Mr. Truman declared that "we can control inflation if we make up our minds to do it." But it is doubtful whether in an election year Congress is prepared to take the painful steps necessary, and Mr. Truman's speech left the impression that he was not going to push it very hard. True, he said that preserving the financial strength of the government would mean high taxes over the next few years, but he made no mention of the necessity for a balanced budget, though possibly he will do so in a future message.

Failing the strongest kind of lead from the White

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House, there seems not the remotest chance that Congress will raise taxes again this year. Thus we face the prospect of a growing deficit to swell the springs of purchasing power in a period when the supply of many kinds of consumer goods will be curtailed more drastically than had been expected a short time ago. Under the circumstances the guarded hopes of economic equilibrium which I expressed in these pages two weeks ago begin to appear decidedly over-optimistic.

New Phase in France

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 8

THE Pleven government, as has been expected for some days, was defeated in the National Assembly on Monday by 341 to 243 votes, all the Communists, Gaullists, and Socialists, as well as a number of Radicals, M. R. P.'s, and others voting against M. Pleven's demand for special powers in the reorganization of the French railways. This was one of several fields in which the Pleven government was seeking authority from Parliament to put in force drastic financial and administrative measures by decree. The resistance to legislation by fiat, or what amounts to the same thing, is common in French parliamentary history; and in this particular case the Socialists and the left wing of the M. R. P.—not to mention the Communists—feared that the Pleven government, if given these special powers, would use them to make inroads into the whole range of social services.

But this is only one reason, the superficial one, why the Pleven government fell. There are many deeper, less obvious reasons. It is reported from Washington that the American press is much relieved that Pleven was not defeated on foreign policy. This satisfaction may prove premature and shortsighted. There is a strong feeling in parliamentary quarters that the Pleven government was profoundly representative of the phase of history through which France passed in 1950 and 1951, but that it had now somehow become an anachronism. In this phase France was expected to assume that it was the leading European nation of the Atlantic Pact and that large-scale rearmament, in view of the danger of a Russian invasion of Western Europe and German rearmament, were essential. The tendency now is undoubtedly to seek other solutions. As *Le Monde* put it:

> It is often assumed that a Cabinet crisis in France merely means a slight reshuffle of seats. Governments change, but the people remain the same. It is not certain that this is true at present. Not only are the Gaullists proposing a new foreign policy, but among all other non-Communist political groups in Parliament one notices a development favorable to a revision of our international commitments, in accordance with our physical possibilities. These tendencies, though still far from precise, and still hard to locate exactly, roughly correspond to "Bevanism" in Britain. . . . Naturally, it is no use expecting a radical change in our foreign policy overnight. The "Bevanist" tendency is still represented by only a small minority in each group; even so it already affects more than just a few isolated individuals, as it did last year. The views of Daladier on Indo-China, for instance, have undoubtedly an influence on the rest of the Radicals, and there are similar phenomena among the M. R. P.'s.

The paper goes on to say that the Gaullists and "Bevanites" see eye to eye when they criticize the Pleven government's excessive subservience to Washington, and both fear that Germany may be rearmed without sufficient safeguards for France; they do not believe much in a Soviet invasion. But here the similarity between the Gaullists and the French "Bevanites" stops. For if the "Bevanites" would like to veto the rearmament of Germany, cut down France's own military expenditure, and start negotiating with Ho Chi Minh and Mao, the Gaullists stand for a militarist policy in Europe and a kind of MacArthurism in Indo-China.

Thus while there is little chance of the "Bevanites" and the Gaullists finding enough common ground, in either the domestic or the international field, to permit them to form an alternative to the Pleven coalition, the two together exercise enough influence to prevent an exact repetition of the Pleven government. But to bring about a government combination which will be representative of the new mood in France will be exceedingly difficult on the parliamentary plane, and for this reason the crisis is expected to be a long one. It may, at first, be solved by the formation of some kind of makeshift government, fairly similar to the last one—probably with M. René Mayer as Foreign Minister instead of M. Schuman. But the 243 deputies who supported Pleven, most of whom are bound, because of their "central" position, to find a place in the new majority, are extremely divided themselves. The greater part of the M. R. P. want the Socialists in the next government coalition—which would necessitate the adoption of a financial policy somewhat different from M. René Mayer's—while other M. R. P.'s and many Radicals and right-wing conservatives favor, if only as an "experiment," the inclusion of some Gaullists. The peculiar feature of the present parliamentary situation in France is that in each of the major parties except the Communists there are at least two tendencies pulling in different ways; in most parties there is now what, for lack of a better word, *Le Monde* described as a "Bevanist" minority. Whatever the final outcome of the crisis, the Pleven-Schuman era, as we have known it these last two years, is either over or is nearing its end.

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Internal Confusion in Internal Revenue

BY NORMAN REDLICH

THE subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee headed by Representative Cecil R. King of California has brought joy to the Republicans and anguish to the Administration by its revelations of corruption in the Internal Revenue Bureau. As a direct result of the committee's investigation, President Truman recently announced that the bureau would be completely reorganized and more revenue officials placed under civil service. But the scandals uncovered by the King subcommittee strike at the heart of our tax-collection system, and the problems raised will remain with us whether or not Congress approves the President's plan. They will exist as long as personal judgments determine how much money individuals and corporations shall pay to the federal Treasury each year.

Taxes no longer have a direct and dreaded impact only on the wealthy few. This year the federal tax system will drain off approximately one-fourth of the national income. Yet this vast collection process, which garners over sixty billion dollars annually, is largely voluntary. The government could never enforce the tax laws if individuals and corporations should decide to ignore them *en masse*. Weak governments have usually discovered, as Nationalist China did, that the tax-collection system falls apart if public confidence is forfeited. And the quickest way to destroy confidence is to let the public think that some persons, by bribing revenue officials, are "getting away with something."

With this fact lurking in the background, it is essential that the agency responsible for administering the tax-collection system should be a model of efficiency and integrity. The Bureau of Internal Revenue, at least in the last ten years, has deviated sharply from the required standards. Its organization is antiquated, and it is pitifully understaffed for the tremendous burden placed upon it by the revenue demands of the Second World War and the present defense program. Fair-minded observers would agree with President Truman that the majority of the bureau's employees are honest, but there has been enough dishonesty and inefficiency to arouse distrust about many of its activities. An especially unfortunate situation has developed in the offices of the sixty-four collectors of internal revenue. Although technically under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner, these collectors are direct appointees of the President and enjoy a large measure of autonomy in their respective districts. Many of their offices have been notoriously inefficient. Only the pressure of the recent investigation, for example, brought about a genuine effort by the Third New York District to issue warrants for delinquent taxpayers. The collectors' offices are supposed to audit returns under $8,000, but in many districts there is no auditing at all. John B. Dunlap, the present Commissioner, pointed out recently that only fifteen of the sixty-four collectors are career men and that twenty of them have outside business interests.

If all taxes were automatically computed and deducted from income like pay-roll taxes, corrupt officials would have a narrow field of operation. Unfortunately, preparation of a tax return by business men, corporations, executives, professional men, and those who are self-employed in various capacities is not a cut-and-dried affair. In a perfectly legal and aboveboard manner accountants and tax lawyers are constantly advising clients on ways to minimize their taxes. The Kiplinger Washington Agency, for example, in its tax letter of December 29, 1951, presented a detailed analysis of the use of charitable foundations as a device for passing corporate stock from generation to generation without paying an estate tax. Of course, beyond the accepted methods of tax saving lies the area of fraud. A business man may try to deduct $2,500 for "entertainment of customers" when actually he bought his wife a mink coat. A doctor may try to conceal part of the cash he receives for house calls. A merchant may take a few dollars out of the cash register each night and charge it to "petty cash."

Returns in which the taxpayer has consciously sought to minimize taxes by either honest or dishonest means, and usually with the assistance of experts, offer tempting opportunities to venal officials. And these opportunities have been multiplied by lax administrative practices. For example, the collectors of internal revenue hand on returns of over $8,000 to the internal-revenue agents for auditing; the collectors audit those under $8,000. Often the receipt of many thousands and even millions in tax dollars hinges on an agent's decision to allow or disallow a deduction. It is at this point that smart accountants and lawyers, representing wealthy clients, come face to face with agents whose incomes are small and whose scruples are flexible. In thousands of instances, for a few hundred or a thousand dollars or even for friendship or a minor favor, an agent will decide a close question in favor of a taxpayer; these transactions rather than the pub-

NORMAN REDLICH discussed the proposed Constitutional amendment limiting individual income taxes to 25 per cent of a person's income in The Nation *of October 20, 1951. He also writes on tax matters for various law reviews.*

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licized $500,000 shake-downs constitute the typical corruption in the tax service. The King subcommittee is aware that this type of corruption, because it is more widespread, is even more dangerous than the corruption in high places. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to uncover.

The prosecution of fraud cases also offers opportunities for shake-downs and fixes. Between the time a tax-fraud case is first turned over to the special agent's office and the time prosecution is started by the Assistant Attorney General in charge of such cases, charges can be dropped at any one of seventeen points along the line. Tax evaders anxious to stay out of jail can dangle attractive bait before the eyes of officials who have discretionary power to stay prosecution. Corrupt officials have been assisted by the bureau's practice of permitting a prosecution for fraud to be discontinued if a taxpayer's health or sanity would be impaired by a trial. The investigations of the King subcommittee have made it plain that under the direction of T. Lamar Caudle the Tax Division of the Department of Justice did not prosecute fraud cases solely on the basis of apparent guilt.

GIVEN an administrative problem as complex as this, a Congressional committee of inquiry can obtain only certain limited results. The King subcommittee has neither the money nor the personnel to conduct a full-scale investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Its chief function is rather to cast a spotlight in different directions, awakening the public to the problems and leaving corrective measures to the Administration.

While the exposure of deals between local agents and accountants or lawyers has been of great interest, the more sensational revelations of the corruption of high officials have grabbed the headlines. These headlines may have placed an unfair amount of the blame on the shoulders of the Truman Administration, but they have already resulted in some important changes in the bureau. Commissioner Dunlap has replaced Commissioner Schoeneman, a notable improvement. The chief counsel has resigned. A new assistant commissioner, a new head of the alcohol tax unit, and a new Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Tax Division of the Department of Justice have been appointed. Tax-fraud cases will now be referred directly from field offices to the Department of Justice, thus by-passing the complicated hierarchy in the Internal Revenue Bureau. New collectors have been named in New York, Boston, and St. Louis.

Commissioner Dunlap has also organized an inspection service which is conducting its own investigation of dishonest practices in the bureau. Half the bureau's employees have filled out forms which detail their property holdings and net worth. Of course, an official dishonest enough to take a bribe will be dishonest enough not to include it in his net worth, but the forms may reveal some unexplained accumulations of wealth by men earning small salaries. And the necessity of filling out these forms may act as a deterrent against bribe-taking in the future.

Representative King

Perhaps the most tangible result of the committee's work to date has been President Truman's reorganization plan. The new inspection service will be made a permanent part of the bureau. Twenty-five district commissioners will replace the present loose network of collectors, agents, and special agents. The district commissioners will be under civil service and forbidden to have outside employment or business interests. Abolition of the politically appointed collectors is a big step forward; civil-service career men are far less susceptible to the pressure of people with "influence."

Apart from these immediate gains, the current investigation has unquestionably achieved some important long-range results. The public has been made aware of a deplorable situation. For some time, at least, revenue agents, tax accountants, and taxpayers will be on their good behavior. Fear may not be the most desirable method of securing compliance with the law, but it is often an effective one. As more disclosures are made by the King subcommittee, the public can look forward to still greater efforts by the Administration to clean house. However, the President's choice of Attorney General McGrath to conduct an investigation of the bureau is not likely to inspire confidence, in view of the justified charges leveled by the King subcommittee at McGrath's own department.

Congress will be asked to authorize an expanded staff for the overworked bureau and to increase salaries of field officials. The subcommittee itself, in a report to be released in the spring, will undoubtedly come up with some excellent suggestions for improving administrative and civil procedures. It will also recommend stricter regulation of federal tax practice in order to keep uncertified accountants, so-called "tax experts," and influence peddlers from negotiating with revenue officials. The committee has found that lawyers as a group are guilty of fewer dishonest acts than other tax practitioners.

But even if all these corrective steps are taken and the

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bureau becomes, as President Truman has predicted, a "blue-ribbon civil-service career organization," the danger of corruption will remain. On the lower levels of tax auditing and collecting, men of means will still offer bribes which some officials will accept. The improvements already made and those in prospect will narrow but not eliminate the problem.

It is unfortunate that the subcommittee's disclosures have provided some unearned political ammunition for the Republicans. While the Administration will say that the changes it has instituted have solved the problem, the Republicans will insist that the only hope for greater honesty lies in a Republican victory in November. Neither claim will be true. So long as revenue officials can give or withhold favors at their will the possibility of dishonesty will exist. This fact cannot be used as an argument for lower taxes, for a large and complex revenue system is now an essential part of our national existence. Instead, the public must insist that vigorous and non-partisan investigation be carried on constantly by the new inspection service of the bureau and periodically by Congressional groups like the King subcommittee. Corruption in tax-gathering can never be entirely eliminated from a tax system as extensive as ours. But it can be minimized, and certainly it should not be encouraged by inefficient organization, careless administrative practices, lax enforcement of the law, or patronage politics.

Granddaddy of the Tax Scandals

BY HARRY BARNARD

THE current Washington production, "Tax Scandals of 1951"—and presumably of 1952—is but a new version of the original show that reached the stage on Capitol Hill in 1924. The leading actors in this granddaddy of "Tax Scandals" were President Calvin Coolidge and Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon; Senator James Couzens of Michigan was the producer. The piece was a great hit and ran for years.

Attracted to every controversy, especially if it gave off even a slight odor of graft, political favoritism, or any other governmental wrongdoing, Senator Couzens was drawn inevitably into an investigation of tax collection. Having amassed forty million dollars by showing Henry Ford how to run an automobile company in a business-like way, he thought every other multimillionaire ought to be as honest as he was. And probably also because of his own millions, he had not an iota of awe for other multimillionaires, not even for Mr. Mellon, "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton."

Secretary Mellon was putting through Congress the tax program described as the Mellon Plan for Assuring Permanent Prosperity. Its nub was the reduction of World War I surtaxes on large incomes. Quite persuasively Mellon argued that if big corporations had their taxes reduced, they would put the money back into their business, and everybody would benefit. A few progressives challenged this plan, but the opposition got little attention until Senator Couzens opened up against it. Couzens had written a letter to Secretary Mellon asking him for the facts with which he backed his tax theory. Mellon considered this an affront and sent Senator Couzens a reply which in effect told him to mind his own business and to let Alexander Hamilton's successor handle such complicated matters as taxation. The belligerent Senator from Michigan let out a rejoinder foreshadowing an atomic explosion. Mr. Mellon, not as meek as he looked, replied in the same style, implying that Senator Couzens was not only a dolt in financial matters, in spite of his accomplishments with Henry Ford, but also a tax slacker, since he had admittedly invested much of his forty million in government securities.

That did it. On February 21, 1924, Couzens presented to the Senate a resolution for a committee to investigate the Bureau of Internal Revenue, which then as now was under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury. The bureau had not been investigated by Congress since the income tax had gone into effect eleven years earlier. Though controlled by the Republicans, the startled Senate passed the resolution. When the Senators recovered, they tried to remedy matters by denying Couzens the chairmanship of the investigating committee, which by precedent he should have had, and giving it to faithful old Jim Watson of Indiana. The committee was further loaded with good friends of Mr. Mellon, but Couzens insisted on a real investigation and stole the show. The first thing he did was to subpoena from the Bureau of Internal Revenue its top-secret files on all the corporations in which Mr. Mellon owned a substantial interest—a sizable file indeed. Next he retained as counsel for the committee the famous prosecutor of the San Francisco "graft" cases, Francis J. Heney. It did not bother

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Couzens that his Republican colleagues had intentionally omitted from the resolution specific authorization for counsel. He got around this impediment by paying Mr. Heney's fee out of his own pocket.

NOW came the comic relief. Jim Watson rushed to Secretary Mellon, and Mellon rushed to President Coolidge. Among them they cooked up two blistering letters. One from Mr. Mellon to Mr. Coolidge informed the President that if the wealthy Senator Couzens were permitted to pay for legal counsel for an investigating committee, the Constitution would be subverted, the Republic endangered, and, worse yet, Mr. Mellon might be forced to resign in protest. A letter from President Coolidge to the Senate touched off a beautiful to-do in that body. Even Senators as conservative as Carter Glass denounced the President, declaring that his attack upon Senator Couzens and the committee was an attack upon the Senate itself; it was comparable, said Senator Tom Walsh, to the treatment of the English Parliament by the Stuarts and Tudors. Senatorial indignation over Coolidge's tactics was so great that the Couzens committee was again given the green light, this time with authority to hire a lawyer.

The interesting reports which Senator Couzens now sent regularly to the Senate showed that Mr. Mellon's Bureau of Internal Revenue had secretly granted rebates and refunds on their income taxes amounting to millions of dollars to a large number of corporations, including several controlled by Mr. Mellon. In one report Senator Couzens estimated that these secret refunds totaled well over $600,000,000. Among the corporations which benefited were the Aluminum Corporation of America (Mellon), $15,589,614; United States Steel, $55,063,312; Bethlehem Steel, $22,103,942; duPont, $15,369,123; Federal Ship Building, $19,849,786; National Aniline Chemical, $9,912,140; and Gulf Oil (Mellon), $3,378,000. Other beneficiaries included William Randolph Hearst, whose papers soon would be demanding a national sales tax, and Colonel William Boyce Thompson, an industrialist who had served as treasurer of the National Republican Committee.

Couzens was subjected to a great deal of criticism for failing to show that these refunds were illegal. In another report he answered that this was precisely the point—these internal-revenue secret dealings *were* legal, but the tax money was being shoveled back to the corporations without the public knowing anything about it. At the same time he insisted that under any fair system of taxation many of these corporations would not be entitled to such refunds, that they ought, in fact, to be taxed more heavily, and he urged that the laws be changed. He also declared that the Secretary of the Treasury, even if his name was Mellon, should not have the exclusive say on tax policy; this was something over which Congress should exercise effective control. Therefore he recommended the creation of a permanent Joint Committee on Internal Revenue, with a permanent staff of experts, and the recommendation was adopted. Today one must wonder what has happened to this committee.

The curtain then went up on the grand climax of Couzens's "Tax Scandals of 1924." Mr. Mellon was so outraged by the effrontery of the Michigan Senator that he struck back at him with a fury that eventuated in the most celebrated tax case of all time up to then.

Back in 1919 Henry Ford had bought out all the other stockholders in the Ford Motor Company, including Couzens, paying Couzens alone thirty million dollars for his shares. Couzens paid in income tax on the transaction approximately nine million dollars, after having checked with the incumbent Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Dan Roper, as to the amount that he owed. When Henry Ford, around 1924, began talking of running for the Presidency, somebody sent to Jim Watson a memorandum asserting that the Ford stockholders had not paid enough income taxes. The Bureau of Internal Revenue investigated the matter thoroughly on several occasions and rejected the allegation. Now this old memorandum was dug up from the bowels of the bureau, and on the basis of it Mr. Mellon dispatched the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to Couzens in the Senate chamber with a notice that he was being cited for income-tax delinquency to the tune of ten million dollars.

"Sue and be damned!" Couzens told the Commissioner, then a gentleman named Blair. The result was a giant-size case before the United States Board of Tax Appeals which went on, concurrently with Couzens's investigation of taxes, for almost three years. In the end Couzens not only won a victory over the Bureau of Internal Revenue but showed that he had overpaid his taxes by more than $900,000, which the government now had to refund!

It is clear from this recapitulation of the "Tax Scandals of 1924" that the 1951 version is pretty weak stuff and that Republicans as well as Democrats have been involved in corruption from time to time. The characters in the current show seem small potatoes—rotten as some of them probably are. If Congress could produce someone like the belligerent, progressive Couzens, with the temerity to dig into the files of the really big taxpayers instead of into the affairs of little people linked mainly with mink coats, we might get a performance that would make history. The investigators, of course, would have to be interested less in newspaper headlines or ammunition for a coming political campaign than in penetrating to the heart of what political analysts from James Madison to Charles A. Beard have called a basic problem of government—who pays what taxes?

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Korea: Steps Toward Unification

BY ARTHUR L. GREY, JR.,

THE fundamental issue of the Korean problem is the political unification of this artificially divided country. Unless it is resolved, there is little possibility that lasting peace will be achieved.

Although the armistice talks at Panmunjom have been concerned entirely with military matters, they have great bearing upon the unification question. In the first place, these talks opened channels for negotiation on the Korean situation which had been blocked since the dissolution of the U. S.–U. S. S. R. Joint Commission in 1947. Secondly, agreement on an armistice—which still appears possible despite the wrangling—should encourage attempts to settle political matters as well. Finally, should the proposal for neutral participation in the enforcement of the Panmunjom provisions be accepted, it would be an important precedent for genuinely international settlement of the Korean problem.

Korea's history and geographical position decree for it a role of absolute neutrality in international affairs. The first action of the United States and China in coming discussions of the future of Korea should be recognition of this fact. So long as one power has a strategic advantage in Korea, no agreement on unification will be reached. Direct negotiations with China by the United States, either acting for itself or for a combination led by it, would just as surely fail to produce a unified Korean government as did United States negotiations with Russia in 1946 and 1947. Each side would still feel that it was in its interest to reject any settlement which did not give the balance of power to the Korean group it was already supporting.

Assuredly the role of the Korean people in the unification process should be a large one. The present situation is a direct result of too much outside interference in the country's affairs. The capacity of the Koreans to govern themselves has been severely maligned during the past few years, much as it was earlier by Japan. Actually the Koreans displayed a good deal of skill in self-government when they had the opportunity immediately following the Japanese surrender in 1945. Before the arrival of the Russian and American occupation forces, the Japanese authorities acceded to the demands for governmental powers made by the new "People's Republic," a representative body of more than forty Korean political groups of all shades which emerged from the underground on V-J Day. The People's Republic was in the main left of center. Not until the extreme rightist groups which now dominate the South Korean government withdrew from it and set out to destroy it, was it to a significant degree controlled by Communists. While it cannot be assumed that the Korean people have been unaffected by the pressures to which they have been so long subjected, it is hardly plausible that a country which so recently contained a large measure of moderate leadership is now fairly represented by Communists in the North and venal reactionaries in the South.

A FIRST concrete step toward unification could be the formation of a national government with limited powers but responsible for the boundary line created by the cease-fire, the establishment of a uniform currency, and the removal of other obstacles to freedom of movement and commercial relations between the two areas. In this way the difficult issue of the dissolution of the present northern and southern governments would not have to be faced immediately.

The impossibility of agreement between the United States and the Communists on how elections should be conducted precludes the selection of the over-all national government by vote of the people. Therefore, such a government should be set up by an international agency created through an accord among the belligerents, and its members should be appointed on as widely representative a basis as possible. When, after a period of time, the new government had assumed most of the responsibilities of sovereignty, the international agency should consider ordering a national election. The important thing from the standpoint of the agency would not be the internal government but the maintenance of Korean neutrality.

Seemingly, it was for discharging just such responsibilities that the United Nations was created. But the U. N. agencies established for dealing with the Korean dispute are incapable of mediating it. One of the great weaknesses of the U. N. in the present situation is that Asian countries like Pakistan, India, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines have each only as many votes in the General Assembly as, for example, any one of the six Central American countries. Yet all the latter together have a population only one-half that of Burma, the least populous of these Asian states. The result has been that

ARTHUR L. GREY, JR., a writer on Far Eastern affairs, collaborated with the late George M. McCune on the widely read "Korea Today." This is the first of a series of articles on the problem of peace in Korea by a number of experts on the Far East. The second, by Lawrence K. Rosinger, will appear next week.

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the U. N. has become too closely identified with the United States in Korea and is unable to play an independent role. The establishment of a new agency which is acceptable to both sides is therefore necessary.

In the meantime, non-military U. N. agencies now in Korea should be assuming greater responsibilities. These are the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), which succeeded the U. N. Commission on Korea in 1950, and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) established a short while later. Neither is operating effectively, either to relieve the deplorable economic conditions in South Korea or to prepare the area for becoming part of a unified Korean state. American policy on economic assistance has followed the same disheartening course during the fighting that it did during the occupation period four and five years ago, affording only militarily administered relief "for the prevention of disease, starvation, and unrest among the civilian population." UNKRA, which derives the bulk of its funds from the United States, has been unable to start even a small program for repairing some of the eight billion dollars' worth of war damage in South Korea.

No doubt the willingness of both sides to continue the talks at Panmunjom has been prompted by their conviction that a resumption of the fighting would bring little in the way of decisive results. Thus instead of facilitating agreement, the armistice may only increase the reluctance of one or both sides to make the compromises necessary for the realization of Korean unification.

One of the difficulties which we may hope will be overcome by reduced direct American participation is the present inelastic attitude of Congress. There is every danger that the din of Senatorial tocsins would frighten American negotiators from agreeing to the slightest departure from the status quo. The possibility that China and Russia may feel that a constructive approach is now expedient must not be dismissed. In any case, the chance of a negotiated settlement should not be sacrificed to useless recriminations and justifications for continued unilateral action.

The war has reduced Korea to a condition in which it is of very little value to anyone. There have been an estimated five million casualties out of a total population of thirty million at the beginning of the war. Millions of people are homeless. Most of the factories are leveled; schools are either wrecked or have been requisitioned by the military; and agricultural production, which was not adequate before, has fallen by nearly a third. If these facts mean anything, they call for imaginative cooperation to rescue Korea from chaos.

Headache Powders: Use Your Head

BY LEONARD ENGEL

TWO out of three Americans are said to get headaches a dozen times a year or more, and 10,000,000 to suffer from chronic headaches, often of the severest kind. Whatever the validity of these figures, the drug industry finds our aching heads a good thing, worth almost $100,000,000 a year in sales; headache remedies are second only to laxatives among over-the-counter (no prescription required) drugs. Unfortunately, many of the headache preparations on the market are far from innocuous, many more are unscrupulously promoted, and most are overpriced.

Needless to say, the right way to deal with headaches, especially if they occur frequently, is to find and treat the cause—a job for a physician. Headaches may be a sign of such serious disorders as the malignant type of high blood pressure, eclampsia (toxemia of pregnancy), brain tumor, meningitis, encephalitis, and head injury. They may also have an infinity of other causes. Emotional tension and allergy are often involved, both in ordinary headaches and in migraine. Eye strain and poor posture can bring on a headache, and so can menstrual difficulties and constipation. Colds, fever, sinusitis, and neuralgia are commonly accompanied by an aching head. And, of course, a headache may be the price of what copy-writers like to call "over-indulgence."

The best-known, most widely used medicine for occasional headaches and other minor pains is aspirin; yet few people are aware of the most important fact about it. This is simply that aspirin is aspirin, no matter what the ads may say. The next time you shop for aspirin, ask for it without specifying the brand. If the clerk is reasonably honest, he will offer you a choice of half a dozen brands ranging in price from 20 to 85 cents for a bottle of 100 tablets, and when you ask what's the difference, he will reply "none whatever." What he says is literally true. Aspirin is an "official" drug, that is, it is listed in the United States Pharmacopeia. Under the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 drugs so listed, or drugs with similar names, must conform to the Pharmacopeia standard. All brands of aspirin, in other words, must be and are the same.

LEONARD ENGEL is a writer on scientific subjects whose articles appear frequently in The Nation.

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Ninety per cent of the aspirin sold in the United States is produced by two chemical companies, Dow and Monsanto. Most "aspirin manufacturers" merely buy the stuff in bulk from one or the other, sometimes both, press it into tablets, and bottle it. There is nothing unethical in this, but it shows how ridiculous is the claim of high-priced brands to special merits.

Aspirin is one of the safest drugs known, although large doses may interfere with the coagulation mechanism of the blood, and a few individuals get a rash if they take any aspirin at all. On the other hand, it provides only a modest amount of relief. When something more potent is needed, physicians usually prefer a preparation known as APC or AAC compound, a mixture of aspirin, caffeine, and a coal-tar derivative named phenacetin or acetophenitidin. APC is a standard preparation, available under many different brand names—such as Empirin and Anacin. Being more potent than aspirin, APC preparations are not so safe, though they are less dangerous than many other headache concoctions currently offered the public. Directions on the label should be followed carefully.

Many headache remedies are based on acetanilid or antipyrine, two coal-tar derivatives discovered in Germany sixty or seventy years ago. At about the same time the Germans discovered two other coal-tar products, aminopyrine and cincophen, which were used as painkillers for several decades. Though harmless enough in small, occasional doses, they were highly toxic when taken over a long period or in large amounts. Both were finally eliminated from over-the-counter drugs. Acetanilid and antipyrine are not much safer but are still in use. If taken too frequently or in too large quantities, they can lead to digestive and skin disorders and even to more serious ailments and death.

IN ANOTHER dangerous group of drugs found in many headache remedies are sodium, potassium, and ammonium bromides. The bromides were formerly used in epilepsy—they have been superseded by far more effective agents—and are still prescribed occasionally as sedatives. If taken too often they tend to cause rather than relieve headaches, leading the user to take ever larger doses. The result may be addiction, skin eruptions, digestive disturbances, or mental derangement—ending perhaps in delirium, coma, and death.

About a dozen years ago the Food and Drug Administration seized shipments of Bromo-Seltzer, an acetanilid-bromide headache remedy put out by the Emerson Drug Company of Baltimore. Emerson indignantly denied that its product was unsafe, but the F. D. A. won in court, and Emerson was compelled to cut the quantities of acetanilid and bromides in Bromo-Seltzer and to print a strong warning on the label pointing out, among other things, that Bromo-Seltzer is "not for use by those having kidney or other organic disease, unless advised by physician." Bromo-Seltzer is now probably safe enough for occasional use, provided the label warning is kept in mind. Not all who use the drug, though, see the warning, since Bromo-Seltzer is dispensed at soda fountains. To reach all users, a warning should be incorporated in the ads. Drug advertising, however, is within the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission rather than the F. D. A., thanks to the efforts of the drug lobby when the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was debated.

During the war the F. T. C. filed complaints against five manufacturers of headache remedies, charging them with misrepresenting in their ads not only the merits but the safety of their products. "Respondent's advertisements," the F. T. C. declared in one complaint, "contain no warning or statement revealing the potential danger of the excessive use of its preparation with respect to either the dosage or frequency of use, and such failure may lead the public to believe that the preparation may be safely taken in such amounts and with such frequency as may be necessary to accomplish the represented and desired results." None of the five pointed out, the commission added, that their preparations were particularly dangerous for children. One of the five was Emerson. The other four and their products were the BC Remedy Company (BC Headache Powders, containing acetanilid and bromides), Stanback Company (Stanback Headache Powders, acetanilid and bromides), Capudine Chemical Company (Hick's Capudine, antipyrine and potassium bromide), and Miles Laboratories (Dr. Miles' Nervine, a triple bromide preparation, and Dr. Miles' Anti-Pain Pills, containing acetanilid).

After lengthy hearings the F. T. C. told BC and Stanback in 1946 that their ads would have to mention the acetanilid and bromides in their products. Both companies elected instead to eliminate the two ingredients from their formulas, and agreed further that the F. T. C. could issue cease-and-desist orders without new hearings if either were ever used again.

Hearings in the other cases dragged on until last year. Then, just as they were to go to trial examiners for decision, the F. T. C. turned around and settled them by stipulation (agreement with the defendants). None was compelled to make any vital disclosures in its ads. Emerson and Capudine were merely required to make minor changes in their claims and to include in their ads the innocuous phrase, "Follow the label—avoid excessive use." Miles, which had delayed the proceedings with a court suit contending that the F. D. A., not the F. T. C., had jurisdiction over drug ads, had to use the same phrase. In recent ads that I have seen, this cautionary statement is well buried in the text.

It still seems to be all right to pass on to the ultimate consumer the headache over headache remedies.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

ROCK

There is stone in me that knows stone,
Substance of rock that remembers the unending unending
Simplicity of rest
While scorching suns and ice-ages
Pass over rock face swiftly as days.
In the longest time of all come the rock's changes,
Slowest of rhythms, the pulsations
That raise from the planet's core the mountain ranges
And weather them down to sand on the sea's floor.

Endures in me record of rock's duration.
My ephemeral substance lay in the veins of the earth from the beginning,

Patient for its release, not questioning
When, when will come the flowering, the flowing,
The pulsing, the awakening, the taking wing,
The long longed-for night of the bridegroom's coming.

There is stone in me that knows stone
Whose sole state is stasis,
While the slow cycle of the stars whirls a world of rock
Through light-years where in nightmare I fall crying
"Must I travel fathomless distance for ever and ever?"

All that is in me on the rock replies,
"For ever, if it must be; be, and be still, endure."

KATHLEEN RAINE

The Problem of Greece

GREECE: AMERICAN DILEMMA AND OPPORTUNITY. By L. S. Stavrianos. Henry Regnery Company. $3.25.

PERPLEXED Americans can find no better paradigm by which to assess their responsibilities and interests in areas under American influence than the experience of Greece. Modern like ancient Greece provides an ideal laboratory specimen; volume is limited, contributory factors are susceptible of isolation and scrutiny, and remoteness facilitates objectivity. Hence if the dilemma and opportunity of Professor Stavrianos's title are valid for Greece, the analysis and program he offers may be applicable to wider areas also.

Stavrianos's indictment of American policy in Greece has a familiar-enough ring. Our intervention has done nothing to solve the problems which necessitated intervention—and which, unsolved, must continue to necessitate it—but has only maintained in power an utterly selfish and corrupt clique indifferent to their country's welfare, quick to use terrorism, and certain to fall as soon as American financial and military support is withdrawn. We have made substantial contributions in improving communications, controlling malaria, keeping starving people alive, and insisting upon Liberal Party representation in the government, but these ameliorations leave Greece's desperate social and economic unbalance virtually untouched; because our policy has never envisaged the rectification of this unbalance it has been doomed from the start and cannot secure even the strategic goal which is its object. The army and the administrative machinery have remained firmly in the same rightist hands in which the British placed them at the end of the war, and the present political leadership, even with a Liberal Party façade, is utterly incapable of initiating the thoroughgoing reforms essential for reorganizing the country's economy and exploiting its resources so as to employ its surplus population and raise the shockingly low standard of living. Rehabilitation of war damage is not enough. Greece's economic and social ill health was chronic long before the war, and led to the harsh dictatorship of Metaxas in 1936. During the war the leftist resistance movement called E. A. M. gave the parts of Greece it controlled, according to E. A. M.'s friends, the most efficient and equitable government they had ever enjoyed; and the disappointment of the high hopes raised by it, the intensification of the economic stringency occasioned by the loss of foreign markets for Greek tobacco and other meager exports, and the reversion to a government very like that of Metaxas in political coloring and techniques have brought the chronic malady to a critical point. No government which does not attack the ills at their root can survive without repression, and no repression can succeed without outside support.

Why have we committed our mistakes? Perhaps the most useful aspect of Stavrianos's book is his account of how, step by step, our policy came to be what it is, so that if we refuse to believe that our officials have been blind we need not assume that our policy has been wise. If there is a villain in the piece it is Winston Churchill, who set the policy of using only the extreme right, even before liberation, and of thwarting every honest effort put forth by moderates. Churchill's policy was continued, without perceptible change, by the Labor government, until, in February, 1947, the British acknowledged their failure and withdrew from Greece. To keep Greece from falling into the Soviet orbit the vacuum had to be filled, but America lost its unique opportunity for making a thorough house-cleaning the condition of its support, and instead, by the terms of the Truman Doctrine, actually outbid British intransigence. The civil war which followed must be

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kept in mind in any calculation of Greece's probable contribution in any future war. The rebels were too numerous and their determination too great for their movement to be ascribed to a hard core of Communists inspired from abroad. Formidable resistance flared up even in the traditionally conservative Peloponnese, which had no contact with Communist regimes to the north of Greece, large sections of the regular Greek army refused to fight against their brethren and were interned, and though the insurgents undoubtedly received assistance from the north, the Greek government had to use far larger numbers and far more lavish equipment to subdue its rebels than the Germans had used to curb the E. A. M. resistance during the war.

The accuracy of Stavrianos's estimate of the past is vouched for both by his meticulous documentation and by the actual course of events. The one crucial question upon which opinions must always differ is the extent to which E. A. M. was committed to world communism, and hence the degree of likelihood that if it were not suppressed it would bring Greece into the Russian orbit. The best objective evidence of E. A. M.'s good faith is its conduct before the bloody civil war of December, 1944. It welcomed the token British force, retired from Athens, and actually began demobilization, until it was moved to resistance by outrageous provocation. But even if the Communist core of E. A. M. were committed to the Russian program, it remains true that they could have been countered more effectively by using their rivals of the socialist and democratic parties than by relying on their polar opposites.

It is in its optimism for the future that Stavrianos's book may arouse greater skepticism. His solution is that we encourage a truly centrist government, free it from the hamstringing incubus of rightist army and administrative direction, and give our full support to a program of fundamental reform. If such a program had been adopted from the start, civil war—which Stavrianos thinks is otherwise bound to recur—would have been averted, Greece would have been made into a model exhibit of democracy in action, and at far less cost than the two billions we have spent we should have had reliable allies instead of a sullen population that speaks of the American "occupation."

Greece's economy can indubitably be greatly improved, and numberless commissions of experts have projected programs for fuller exploitation of its resources, but it is hard to see how Greece could ever approach the satellites' rich agricultural and mineral potential. The problem of finding new political leadership seems no less difficult. The polarization instigated by both right and left and crystallized by British and American policy has left the center bare. The "liberal" parties of today are indistinguishable from the right; the meaninglessness of labels is now illustrated by the fact that Papagos can be heralded as a liberal. We should have resolutely to face the cries of "Communist" that would greet the newcomers we would countenance and the measures they would introduce. These measures might indeed emulate some of those taken in the Soviet satellites to the north, but unless we blunder Greece will not itself veer over to Russia. Greek national pride is too strong, and even its doctrinaire Communists have been twice disillusioned by Stalin—when for his own ends he surrendered them to Churchill, and when for his own ends he forbade their necessary contacts with Tito during the civil war of 1948.

But all difficulties must be faced. Our present approach, deriving from the traditions of the British Foreign Office which the British have themselves abandoned, has been proved futile; the social and economic situation in Greece is explosive and gathering steam; we may still, and therefore we must, channel the forces of change in a direction profitable to ourselves as well as to Greece and the world. Stavrianos's expert knowledge and patent sincerity command respect. If he makes no secret of his partisanship, he offers justification for it that is always plausible and at most points convincing. Because of its geographical position the problem of Greece possesses very great importance for us in itself, and perhaps equally great importance as a pattern for our policy in other areas; a thoughtfully presented view which differs from that upon which our present policy is based deserves attention.

MOSES HADAS

Mr. Brooks's History

THE CONFIDENT YEARS: 1885-1915. By Van Wyck Brooks. E. P. Dutton and Company. $6.

"THE CONFIDENT YEARS" brings to a close Mr. Brooks's five-volume "history of the writer in America." The virtues and shortcomings of Mr. Brooks's method have by now been thoroughly canvassed, and "The Confident Years" provokes no novel reflections on that score. The same skill in evocation recreates the latter-day milieux of American literary life—the physical and social scene, the components of the intellectual climate—as freshly as for the earlier years; it is an art which, as Mr. Brooks notes with allowable asperity, "critics who totally lack it have always disparaged." The same sense of discovery, or of sharing one's own discoveries, is aroused as Mr. Brooks's sensibility responds to the particular note of some half-forgotten book of minor worth or a minor genre and sketches its claims on us. And the same evasion, finally, of literature in its major aspects, of the work of literature as an autonomous entity, disappoints the expectations which these artfully composed backgrounds, these passing felicities of appreciation, awaken in us. As in the other volumes the most successfully pre-

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sented figures are those of lesser writers or writers of only quasi-literary interest —the chapters of "The Confident Years" which seem best to encompass their subjects are on O. Henry and H. L. Mencken—and the implied claim for American accomplishment never quite realizes itself by bringing into focus the end product, the achieved work of art, by which the claim stands or falls. It would be grossly unjust to Mr. Brooks's series to say that it is an admirably arranged museum of Americana; yet it too often comes too close to being just that.

What Mr. Brooks intends the series to be is disclosed in the last chapter of "The Confident Years." This Forward Glance is an affirmation of American literature as an expression of the Enlightenment, a restatement, developed with less intemperance of manner and greater dialectical skill, of Mr. Brooks's old case against T. S. Eliot and the prevailing alienation of the literary mind from the set of ideas at the core of the American experience. In the dialectics of debate Mr. Brooks thrusts shrewdly enough, as I have said, at the paradoxes of Eliot's position, and he is on firm-enough ground, one feels, in the supposition underlying his argument that the present crisis of the Enlightenment is a crisis of growing pains and not of senility—the more severe in America in so far as America has given itself more wholly than Europe to the chiliastic beliefs that the Enlightenment, like early Christianity, is in the process of sloughing off.

But Mr. Eliot as an ideologue is after all not very difficult to dispose of, and shrewdly and tellingly as Mr. Brooks at times puts his case against the defectors from the liberal-democratic tradition, his own relationship to that tradition is hardly a forceful or compelling one. In the end, in fact, his attitude seems to be that of rather thin nostalgia for the brave days of "Jean Christophe," the "confident years," in short, of his own pre-World War I youth: "If the abcess of the world-war time were to break in a world-peace instead of in world-destruction," he writes, "what shouts of jubilation then would rise from a renascent world." This mood is as little relevant in a central way to a revaluation of the liberal-democratic tradition as Mr. Eliot's prescription of a Coleridgean "clerisy" and, if one may put it so, a good deal less amusing. As a piece of cultural history Mr. Brooks's series is in its way a unique achievement, but as an interpretation of American literature and of the American mind this closing volume sharpens one's sense of its shortcomings. HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

The Two Germanys

THE EASTERN ZONE AND SOVIET POLICY IN GERMANY, 1945-1950. By J. P. Nettl. Oxford University Press. $5.50.

OUR GERMAN POLICY: PROPAGANDA AND CULTURE. By Albert Norman. Vantage Press. $2.50.

UNDER the flood of news reports and arguments about the West German Republic, now courted as an ally in the defense of Western Europe, it is easy to forget that Germany is not one, but two, and that the other, Soviet-controlled Germany is at one and the same time a pawn of Soviet policy and a quarrelsome Siamese twin of the Adenauer republic. As the two republics grapple with each for leadership of the frustrated urge to national unity, their struggle is a reminder that Germany again has a potential freedom of choice between two basic orientations and that coexistence of two worlds means a prolonged coexistence of two mutually hostile and rival Germanys.

The nature and potential of that "other" Germany have been clarified by J. P. Nettl's thoughtful and well-documented study, the best available. Avoiding dramatic conclusions and, indeed, clinging to a somewhat drab style of understatement, Nettl implicitly warns Western students and planners of policy against regarding the East German "people's republic" as a negligible or non-existent factor. And while he throws much new light on the basic contradictions in Soviet policy, his analysis also carries with it a caution against the over-facile assumption that the Russians may somehow be jockeyed into giving up their domination over their third of Germany.

What are the plus signs, in power terms, for Soviet policy in East Germany? By a drastic land reform, carried out while the Germans were completely disorganized and benumbed by defeat, the traditional class of large landowners was uprooted and a broad redistribution of the land was effected. If East Germany lagged far behind the western republic in recovering production and living standards after 1948, it also avoided the extremes of economic despair through which the West Germans passed between the defeat and 1948. The East German transition from one totalitarian system to another was, unfortunately, less painful in some respects than the far greater change to a widening range of democratic choices and responsibilities in the western zones.

In Nettl's opinion this relentless erection of a new totalitarian regime was based on a carefully predetermined Soviet plan of action. However, from his own evidences of conflicting Soviet aims and interests it can be argued with considerable force that the outward appearances of careful planning may derive from the fact that, when confronted with choices to be made, Soviet policy-makers were conditioned to make decisions which copied or reinforced that system of power which was familiar to them. For example, Nettl documents in considerable detail the difficulties which faced the Soviet leaders in deciding between removing capital equipment and taking larger reparations out of current production, between extending direct Soviet ownership of industry and manipulating the terms of trade. If the Soviet representatives had been operating on a longer-range plan, they would have found many advantages in postponing the fusion of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, as occurred in Poland and Hungary.

Nettl's carefully buttressed conclusions, which have to be mined out of the context by the reader, are important. The Soviet government has acquired a valuable colony in East Germany and will not abandon its prize except to grasp at the even greater resources of West Germany. Moreover, despite removals which total some 20 per cent of the total product, the Soviet authorities can bring about a gradual improvement in that sector which serves the German population, so that the West cannot rely in perpetuity on the superior attractiveness of its living standards. Contrary to a widespread assumption, both East and West Germany have adjusted their economies quite well to getting

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along without the other. The Soviet government realizes that the eastern zone is the most anti-Soviet region of Germany, except for a part of the youth, and must therefore maintain the rule of a stooge party which would disintegrate under conditions of genuine political freedom. On balance the Soviet zone makes important contributions to the economy of the Soviet sphere and provides a potent but not decisive leverage in the politics of Germany as a whole.

"Our German Policy: Propaganda and Culture," by Albert Norman, is a brief account, by an interested and observant staff member, of the efforts of the American occupation authorities, in 1945-46, to promote the growth of democratically oriented press, publishing, radio, motion-picture, and theater services in their zone. It gives credit for many sensible constructive steps which were taken by the improvised administrators of the occupation, and makes clear the confusion of purposes with which the United States approached the task of German reconstruction. While Norman barely touches on the basic question of whether "democratization" can be injected from without or merely encouraged to grow from within, he has given a frank and modest picture of the problems which faced the occupiers in the fields of education and information. PHILIP E. MOSELY

The Lost European Culture

THE LOST LIBRARY. The Autobiography of a Culture. By Walter Mehring. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

ONCE upon a time Walter Mehring, a German poet and novelist now living in New York, owned a library, bequeathed by his father and enriched by himself. In those happy, far-off days the Kings of Steel and Oil still gave culture a pat on the back now and then. And a man might boldly carry a book down Fifth Avenue or Piccadilly without people looking askance at him as at a half-alive fossil or a ghost-writer on his last legs. Then the World Series of wars began, Hitler emerged, and as Mr. Mehring sees it, the Kremlin brought down its mailed fist and hobnailed boots on what was left of the Four Freedoms. That the twilight of the gods of culture had set in was made plain to our author when the Nazis separated him from his library and hunted him from pillar to post.

We first meet him during his Viennese exile, just as his boxes of books are miraculously restored to him. His "lost library" is clearly a choice cross-section of the standard *bibliothèque* of the European cultured classes before 1933. As he unpacks his precious volumes one by one, he gives free rein to nostalgic memories suggested by the work and author in question, not to mention related works, coteries, critics, traditions, and movements up and down the centuries. Thus we learn that Mr. Mehring has been a prodigious reader of everything censored and uncensored in Western prose or verse, and that he has something pointed or piquant to say about all the famous authors from Goethe to Thomas Mann and about all the infamous authors from the Marquis de Sade to James Joyce. At times "The Lost Library" is in danger of becoming a "Who's Who" of the world's literature. But the author regales us with such a brilliant flow of anecdotes, comment, satire, mockery, and acute observation that we are hugely entertained, even to the point of forgetting that his reminiscences are held together by the theme of "Alas, poor Yorick!" The lost library becomes a symbol of the lost European culture which Mr. Mehring dearly loves and which he fears will soon be as dead as Newton's rectilinear universe.

In spite of its vein of pessimism, "The Lost Library" is a witty, entertaining, and instructive book. The author has had the good fortune to get two excellent translators to introduce his first prose work to the American public. FELIX GRENDON

Films

MANNY FARBER

MIRACLE IN MILAN." A sententious documentary fable about loving that neighbor, set in a hobo jungle beside the Milan railroad tracks; a grubby, inventive "My Man Godfrey" that came to America late in the year but walked away with most of the best-foreign-film awards and will doubtless delight every filmgoer who seriously believes he loves his fellow-men. It is a De Sica treatment of a Zavattini novel, featuring Francesco Golisano—a grinning, bull-like mixture of Burt Lancaster and Mussolini—as a naive orphan who turns his shanty town into a haven of fine emotions, simple pleasures, and modest comforts. Highly unenjoyable

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for its moronically oversimplified pantomime and symbolism, its fragmented and ragged structure, its exhaustive sentimentality: to wit, the forlorn thread of a dirt road (loneliness); marble-walled interiors (the idle rich); fried eggs (what the poor dream about); the falsetto operatic voice (art is pompous and pansy-like); high hats and mink coats; little capitalists being chased down the street by angry mobs; buttocks-rich shots of pseudo-Grecian statues; bums kissing bums; people counting (charmingly) on their fingers; white flags of surrender; sunsets; parades; angels. Though it has been called "the freshest movie in years"—by those who very likely applied the same phrase twenty years ago to the René Clair films which served as prototype (in the matter of high hats being blown across a lot, for instance)—"Milan" really burglarizes the repertoire of those suave, altruistic C-men (Cartier-Bresson, Chaplin, Clair, Capra) who treat the spectator as a child to be guided, taught, and disciplined.

"Rashomon." A torpid, stylish Japanese study in human frailty, like nothing so much as a tiny aquarium in which a few fish and a lot of plants have delicately been tinkered with by someone raised in Western art-cinema theaters and art galleries. Five characters, two unfrequented real-life sets—a ruined temple and a forest—and a script which is probably the first to describe a highly contrived sword-fight-and-seduction through the biased eyes of four different people. The villain is a conceited, slothful, bug-ridden bandit (Toshiro Mifune)—a type now familiar in Hollywood adventure-comedies about Mexico—who has a hard time pulling himself away from a good nap to ravish the wife of a traveling samurai. Makes its play for posterity with such carefully engineered actions as one in which the dozing barbarian scratches his crotch while the sword across his knees somehow rises (Maya Deren-fashion) as though it had just had a big meal of sex hormones. "Rashomon" is supposed to get down to the bedrock of such emotions as lust, fear, and selfishness, but actually it is a smooth and somewhat empty film whose most tiresome aspect is the slow, complacent, Louvre-conscious, waiting-for-prizes attitude of one who worked on it.

"I Want You." The Goldwyn stock company (Granger, Andrews, McGuire, Keith, etc.) drafted away from their side of the railroad tracks—the other side from De Sica's—for the duration of the cold war. Written by *New Yorker* writers Irwin Shaw and John Cheever. Much too talkative and taken up with the sad departures of drafted men; nothing more momentous in it than Mildred Natwick sweeping all her pseudo-hero husband's war mementoes off the wall. Yet good—as all Goldwyn's soap-operas are—for its sad, cautious desire to get at the haggard side of Americans by being exactly right about the stained wall-paper around picture frames, the sexless bathrobe of Mrs. Suburbia, the sullen pooped-out expression on her face, the chenille His-Her towels in the bathroom, and the fact that most of the conversation consists of tired nothings: "What'll it be?" . . . I want to say hello to George Kress. . . . Why, I'm making you rich; what're you complaining of? . . . Oh, wait a minute. . . . Why doesn't Landrum mind his own business? . . . How are things in Washington? Scary." Not even Goldwyn can keep Farley Granger from his obsequious, frightened, liver-lipped manipulation of a smile or a drag on a cigarette, but the others almost break your heart with their pinched-faced "bravery," their frozen pantomime, their ability to talk without opening their mouths.

"Behave Yourself." A tasteless, paceless, surprisingly good farce, spoofing the "Thin Man" idea of having cops, robbers, a dog, a mother-in-law, keep a young married couple (Granger again, with Shelley Winters) from going to bed together. Crammed with ultra-modern buildings, furniture, statues; shot mostly through leaves and incidental bric-a-brac. Cameraman James Wong Howe, usually an earnest documentarist, shoots a crucial murder here as if he'd been bribed by Florence Knoll. The humor is either strictly from Minsky or tied up with the décor, or both (as when the dog finds himself in a jungle of plastic mannikin legs). Best funny moment of many months is provided by the scene in which a silly egg-skulled cockney gangster (with a bullet wound in his forehead that may have been painted by Pierro della Francesca) slides down like a well-oiled banana into a colossal bubble-bath.

"The Racket." This movie had everything—Mitchum, Ryan, and today's most-talked-of subject matter. But it came out a junky, impossible bore.

"Another Man's Poison." The elevation to co-stardom (with wife Bette Davis) of the over-energetic Gary Merrill in a psychotic melodrama that left me limp, incredulous, and baffled.

"Westward the Women." Two hundred women and Robert Taylor. This is a Western?

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE superb Purcell Fantasias in three, four, and five parts are played well by the London String Trio and Aeolian Quartet (Allegro), but with more animation and more finesse in spite of the fuller sonority by a small Viennese string orchestra under Litschaeur (Vanguard). The Viennese performances are better reproduced, except for the coarse brilliance of the violins on the side with the five-part and the first six four-part Fantasias; and some of the Allegro performances are too low in pitch. The Vanguard records offer also two fine Purcell Chaconnes and an effective performance of one of Beethoven's least accessible works, the Grand Fugue 133.

One of the accessible great works of his last period, the Quartet Opus 132, is given a performance by the Paganini Quartet that is in every respect first-rate (RCA Victor).

First-rate in most respects is the playing of the New Music Quartet in Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3 (Bartok); but it has an excessive nervous tension which is disturbing even when it doesn't convert sforzatos into explosions; and the finale suffers from an attempt to play it in the impossibly fast tempo set by Beethoven's metronome-marking. From an accompanying note about the failure to obey Beethoven's metronome-markings and the resulting falsification of the music one would think it had amounted to allegros being played largo; when in fact it has amounted only to reducing them to allegros which permit the clear articulation of the music nec-

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essary for its sense. On the same record is a similar high-tension performance of Beethoven's reworking for string quartet of the not especially interesting Piano Sonata Opus 14 No. 1. With treble reduced the sound is brash in loud passages; whether the noises are solely those from the scratches on my review record I cannot say.

Two engaging early works of Beethoven, the String Trio Opus 9 No. 1 and Serenade Opus 8, are played beautifully by the Pasquier Trio; but even with minimum treble the recorded sound is not beautiful (Allegro).

Beethoven's inconsequential Trio Opus 11 for clarinet, cello and piano gets from Reginald Kell, Frank Miller, and Mieczyslaw Horszowski a fine ensemble performance which Mozart's Trio K.498 for clarinet, viola, and piano does not get from Kell, Lillian Fuchs, and Horszowski on the same record (Decca); and my guess is that it is Miller who restrains Kell, stimulates Horszowski, and integrates the playing of the three in the Beethoven piece. That guess is based on all the playing I have heard Miller do, which has led me to the opinion that he is one of the greats among the ensemble musicians of today. His tone hasn't the rich sensuous beauty of Leonard Rose's, but has a tensile strength which makes possible the exciting continuity in a sustained legato phrase, and even in a series of plucked bass notes; with this continuous life there is also extraordinary refinement and elegance of style; and in addition to everything else there is the feeling for ensemble performance that seems to carry other musicians with it. The Beethoven piece is excellently reproduced; the Mozart is not; surfaces are gritty.

Another of the superb Budapest Quartet performances of the period when Roisman was in good form and Alexander Schneider was second violin —this one of Schubert's great Quintet Opus 163, with Benar Heifetz playing second cello—has been issued on LP (Columbia), its sound now free of the defects of the 78 rpm version, and wholly agreeable even without the warmth and radiance of the Victor recording of Beethoven's Opus 132.

The sound is in fact more agreeable than that of the beautiful performance of Schumann's Piano Quintet recorded by the Budapest Quartet of today with Curzon (Columbia), which has an excessively sharp distinctness that sharpens the edge on Roisman's tone.

C. P. E. Bach's Chromatic Fantasy for harpsichord is interesting, but his Trio in B flat and W. F. Bach's Sonata in F are not; the performances by Lois Schaefer, flute, Robert Brink, violin, and Daniel Pinkham, harpsichord, are good (Allegro).

I would skip the Loewenguth Quartet's coarse-grained performance of Mozart's K.457 (Decca), and the Aeolian Quartet's pedestrian performances of K.575 and 590 (Allegro).

As the first volume in its Archives of Recorded Music UNESCO has issued "L'Oeuvre de Frédéric Chopin" (Paris: Editions de La Revue Disques), a compilation without evaluation, under the direction of Armand Panigel, of all the recordings of Chopin's works, including those no longer available.

On the other hand the Music Library Association (c/o Music Division, Library of Congress) has assembled from the December 1948 to September 1950 issues of its quarterly magazine, *Notes,* the summaries of record reviews by Kurtz Myers, and published them as "Cumulated Index of Record Reviews." I would say a considerable number of the evaluations aren't worth anyone's attention; and the summarizing is done with a few symbols that are not always adequate.

Otto Erich Deutsch, who assembled all the available documentary material on Schubert in "The Schubert Reader," has issued an equally valuable "Schubert Thematic Catalogue" (Norton; $8.50), listing and dating the works in chronological order, with single-stave *incipits,* information about manuscripts and editions, and so on. I find inadequacies and inconsistencies in the *incipits;* but they don't amount to a major defect.

R. D. Darrell, who compiled the first "Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia of Recorded Music," has now produced "Schirmer's Guide to Books on Music and Musicians" ($6), an excellent volume of the same kind—one which answers the question whether a book exists, but not the question whether it is worth reading.

CONTRIBUTORS

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Letters to the Editors

Witch-Hunt Victim

Dear Sirs: I am one of the many victims of the current loyalty purge who will receive no hearing except that which you can provide for me by publishing this letter. I am a tenth-generation American whose Puritan ancestors fled from England in 1635 because they dissented from the state religion of that country. I am also an economist who received an unusually costly education, including five years of full-time post-graduate university work, and was later awarded a two-year post-doctoral Carnegie fellowship at Columbia University. Since then my life has been devoted to university teaching, government work, and writing. In 1948, at the age of forty-four and after eight years of federal employment, I retired from a $10,000 position to devote my full time to writing a book on price theory, now almost completed. When I returned to Washington a few months ago to seek reemployment with the government, I was denied a position, not on the ground of reasonable doubt as to my loyalty but, literally, on the ground that *there was a reasonable doubt as to whether there was a reasonable doubt as to my loyalty.* In other words, the loyalty probers of the agency where I found an opening (OPS) could not make up their minds in two months' time, and my prospective chief had to hire someone else because he could wait no longer. This experience will, of course, make it extremely difficult if not impossible for me ever to secure another federal position, and universities will be equally reluctant to employ a person of doubtful loyalty. There is almost nowhere else for an economist with my experience to work. Such penalties are imposed every day of the week upon American citizens who have no hearing and no recourse. I cannot even appeal to the review procedures of the Civil Service Commission, for no appealable decision on my loyalty has been reached.

So far my case is typical of thousands of others, most of which are not even listed in the official statistics on the number of persons suspended or discharged on loyalty grounds (I was not suspended or discharged). I would like to add some information as to my political beliefs, perhaps the real grounds for the charges of disloyalty. For thirty years I have been a democratic Fabian Socialist. Like many Republicans and professors of social science, I believe our country, like Western Europe, is moving slowly but steadily towards democratic socialism. Unlike the Republicans, I approve of this trend. . . .

Since I am a Fabian Socialist and consider the American Socialist Party ineffective, I have actively worked and campaigned for the Democratic Party, when not in federal employment, since 1933. In 1934 I was a leader in my home city in the Democratic campaign of that year and was elected a member of the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee. In 1938 I managed the primary Congressional campaign in Pasadena for an able Democratic state assemblyman, Elmer Lore. In 1940 I was the official Pasadena Roosevelt-Wallace campaign manager. To these and other Democratic Party campaigns I gave hundreds of dollars and devoted hundreds of days of time, including weeks of door-to-door bell ringing. In 1944, when I was a federal employee, my mother was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention, where she voted for Harry Truman. I myself am a warm admirer of our President, and shall vote for him again regardless of the outcome of my case. I blame Republican McCarthyism, not Truman, for the great injustice to most of those charged with disloyalty.

There are other pertinent facts in my case which any fair-minded judge or jury would consider. The four books I have had published on economic and social theory during the past twenty years all contain clear evidence that I am not a Communist. One of them, called "Total War" (1943), is, in my humble opinion, the best available guide to the all-out economic mobilization which would be required in a war with Soviet Russia.

While I have of course been given no hearing, or even an interview, on the charges against me, I have heard in a round-about way of one, and only one, charge—namely, that I traveled to Russia in 1939 with a group of Communist sympathizers. Actually, I have never been to Russia, a fact I regret rather than feel proud of. In 1939 I hoped to go, and made all arrangements, but changed my mind. The record of the passport and visa granted me in 1939 is presumably the evidence on which I am accused of the serious offense of desiring to see for myself how communism works in Russia. I remember nothing concerning the Intourist tour I planned to take, but this may of course have included Soviet sympathizers. The only other possible basis for charges that I am a Communist is that I once (1935) learned to read Russian, read some Communist books and magazines, and attended meetings addressed by Communist speakers. As a life-long student I regret that I did so little of this, for science requires the study of arguments and evidence on *both* sides of every issue. Nine out of ten American writers on Soviet Russia simply don't know what they are talking about, and I fear I still belong in this group. To regard study of communism as evidence of Communist sympathies is one of the crudest errors of our loyalty probers, an error which may result in disastrous ignorance of our enemy in World War III and even help to bring about this war.

I am in a position to reveal the questioning of my loyalty and the damning facts upon which it may be based only because I have a small private income. The vast majority of those who have been similarly treated dare not reveal their misfortune because this would make future employment still more uncertain. I speak, therefore, for thousands who are voiceless. For them more than for myself I protest against the vicious practice of questioning a man's loyalty and denying him federal employment without a hearing and on such grounds as former study of communism or Soviet Russia, the malicious testimony of discharged servants, and the intolerance of some religious and political opponents.

BURNHAM P. BECKWITH

Pasadena, Cal.

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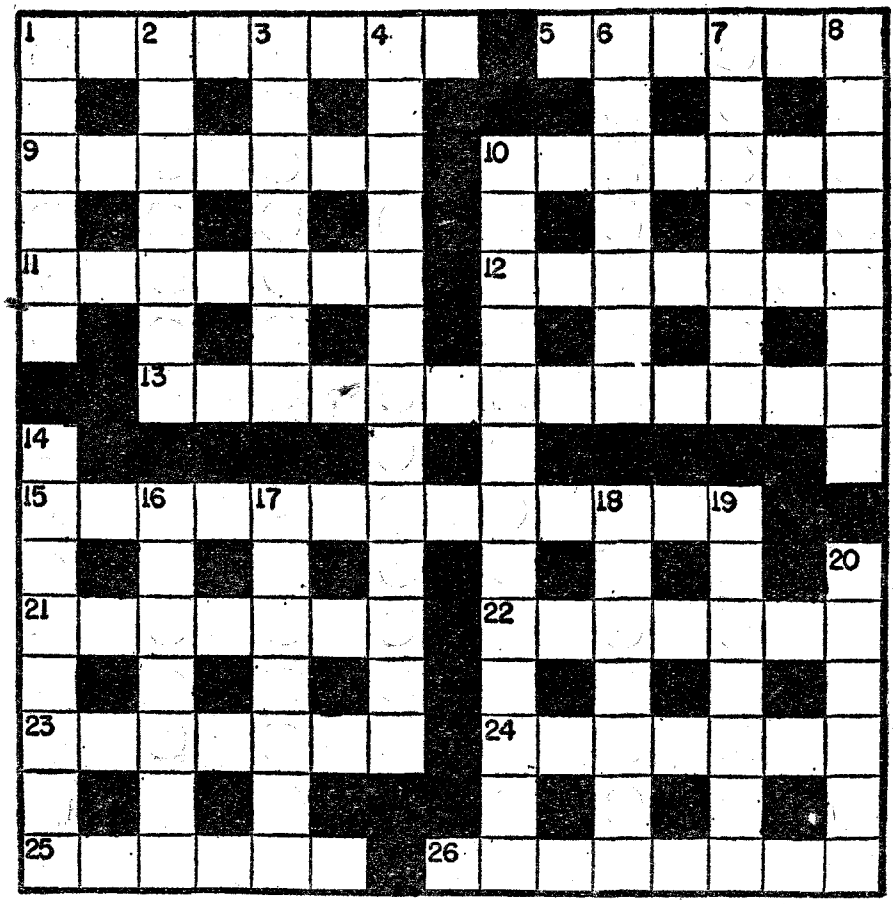
Crossword Puzzle No. 448

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What subs used to make clean habits. (8)
5 Shock absorber. (6)
9 Frequently this is 14 down. (7)
10 Proving the possibility of finding a tender-hearted radical is purely relative! (7)
11 Did this get under the old woodsman's skin? Quite the opposite! (7)
12 Compound the price of eggs? (7)
13 Do coach stands furnish drink and something to settle the stomach? (6, 3, 4)
15 Would this illustrate a non-partisan angle? (7, 6)
21 A leaning towards a certain recording? (7)
22 One who steers steers? (3, 4)
23 A mule is usually so clean. (7)
24 Wifely. (7)
25 Weak. (6)
26 They make us attest enactments. (8)

DOWN

1 Ypres to the doughboy suggests a couple of blades swinging in the dampness. (6)
2 One of these is fine for the forts wall brackets. (7)
3 Too much of this and you sound rather shaky. (7)
4 You'd have chills and fever with it, yet still might feel swell! (7, 6)
6 Is atonal music, if you pay no attention to it? (7)
7 A rag for making a hodgepodge of a hodgepodge. (7)
8 Arbor vitae. (3, 5)
10 Do they pay it in their spring, in the spring? (8, 5)
14 This might be rather dull, yet is supposed to have a point. (2, 3, 3)
16 Women's hair might be, both before and after trimming. (7)
17 Mountain which is comparatively 25. (7)
18 It isn't old wine for the navy town. (7)
19 He's quite practical concerning the head of 21. (7)
20 In England they couldn't be considered minor subjects! (6)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 447

ACROSS:—1 COMEDY OF ERRORS; 8 NONCONDUCTOR; 10 HARDHEADED; 13 MELONS; 14 BERIBERI; 16 THALLIUM; 19 EWER; 20 ANGLOPHOBE; 22 SHORT STORIES; 23 and 17 HE WHO HESITATES IS LOST.

DOWN:—2 MINERAL WATER; 3 DOOR HANDLE; 4, 11 and 1 down OH DEAR! WHAT CAN THE MATTER BE?; 5 ESCHEWED; 6 ROOD; 7 POSTMISTRESSES; 9 PHRENOLOGIST; 12 AIR SUPPORT; 15 DUE NORTH; 18 CLOSES; 21 SHAH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Dear Howard:

I have just finished SPARTACUS. *It's a terrific book, the best you've done, in my opinion. A true symbol of the world toiler now and in all past times. All the while I read it I kept seeing contemporary figures, modern Ciceros, ward heelers in Washington, the cities of today and the servile revolt of the present period now on a world scale.*

I feel that this is the book of yours most durable and with most universal appeal, because it can be read anywhere and fit any of the countries of the epoch of imperialism.

Also I think you've done a radiant job of using the materials that have come down to us on Spartacus. Of using the actual materials and actual characters of the period and making them understandable in terms of both then and now. Your handling of Negro and Jewish and Nordic white symbolization was beautifully done, pertinent not only for the American scene but having worldwide color-national connotations.

This is a book I chewed up clause by clause, like a meal. It has to be read that way to get its full historic and contemporary meaning.

I feel sure that the world's progressives will, with time, regard this story as the one most symbolical of the long struggle of labor. It has beauty, mature style, and hits the philosophic bull's-eye of life itself.

I would take heart, if I were you, in the knowledge of having done an enduring and highly symbolical work of art, and the way in which you have struck out, in publishing SPARTACUS *yourself, is an act itself of a literary Spartacus.*

May I express my admiration.

Sincerely,
Earl Conrad.

THE above is a letter from a friend of mine, a fine and brave writer in his own right. You can understand that I read his letter with great pride and considerable happiness. And here, briefly, is the story of the book he refers to:

The book was written—with some gaps and diversions—over a period of a year and a half. It was finished in June of 1951, and submitted in the same month to my regular publisher, *Little, Brown and Company*. The editor-in-chief, Angus Cameron, read the manuscript immediately, and wrote to me:

"It is a novel we can publish with pride and with the gamble that it will do better than *The Proud and the Free*. . . . I congratulate you."

He told me a few days later that the editorial staff agreed with him, and that in his opinion, I had written my best book. He told me that *Little, Brown and Company* would publish it.

But a month later, I learned that Mr. Cameron had been forced to resign from *Little, Brown and Company*. I also learned that they would not publish Spartacus.

Whereupon, I submitted the manuscript to six other publishers; not to every publisher, but to six others. After all, it was not a first novel. Nineteen years ago, I had published my first; this was my twelfth.

Three of the publishers would not even read the manuscript. Three rejected it flatly. This I considered sufficient indication of how the wind blew, and rather than spend the next five years in endless submissions. I decided to publish it myself.

I had no money with which to publish a book, but I had friends and I knew that over ten million people in America had read my books. I wrote to these friends. I asked them to buy in advance, sight unseen, a novel called Spartacus, which I would publish if and when enough of them sent me five dollars for a subscription to it. It was a strange offer on my part, and I got a strange response.

Over fifteen hundred people sent me five dollar bills and checks. Not only did I receive enough money to send them copies of the five-dollar edition, but their faith and their kindness made it possible for me to publish a cheap edition for mass distribution.

I am not good at writing advertising, nor do I think I can hire anyone to write the sort of advertising I need. What Earl Conrad says about my book is important because it comes out of his own experience and struggle—and I think little that does not come out of such a source can have real importance in telling anyone else about a book. I know a woman who works very hard and who has worked very hard for most of her life, and who has had to face the stubborn and bitter things of life most directly and unequivocally. A few days ago I received a letter from her which said:

> *It is 12 midnight Sunday night and I have finished reading* SPARTACUS. *It has left me with a wonderful feeling of the wholeness and rightness of the simple things that I love and of the complete justness of fighting for the 20th Century freedom you and I are aspiring to.*
>
> *I haven't the ability to criticize your book in a literary fashion. All I know is that I love what you have written, I love how you have written it, and love what it will accomplish in bringing us nearer to that world of peace and equality of man that Spartacus and men of similar mold have endeavored to bring about.*

I do not think that more than this could be said or should be said. My problem now is to find out whether people will go out of their way to buy and read this book. I am asking you to do so, to write me at Box 171, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N. Y., and send me $2.50 in cash, money order or check, for a copy of Spartacus. The book will be sent to you immediately.

HOWARD FAST **Box 171, Planetarium Station** **New York 24, N. Y.**

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